

THE PLEDGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF SUCI

THE historic 24th April is a red letter day, a day resplendent in glorious tradition in the annals of the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited people of India.

AS the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties of our country, including the one going by the name of the Communist Party, continuously pursued wrong political lines right from their inception and copied blindly the views of some or other of the powerful parties or leaders of foreign countries, they failed completely to provide leadership to the independence struggle, and consequently the fruits of the independence were all usurped by the bourgeoisie. Further, consequent upon their failure to pursue from the outset the scientific process of building up a working class revolutionary party, they turned out to be, in reality, petty bourgeois parties even as they claimed to be communists and swore by Marxism-Leninism. For these reasons and from the realisation that it is absolutely impossible to lead people's struggle to its historic goal of revolution without a genuine revolutionary party of the workers and peasants at the helm, the SUCI emerged on the 24th April, 1948, out of the struggle for building up correct revolutionary party following the genuine Marxist-Leninist line under the leadership of our great departed leader, teacher, guide and founder General Secretary, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the present era. Today, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Party, we recall the first foundation day with great reverence and pledge ourselves once more to fulfil the historic task of the SUCI to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country through to success.

OUR Party, the SUCI, and our beloved leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** have taught us to carry on an uninterrupted struggle against imperialism—the main enemy of freedom, peace, socialism and world revolution—particularly against the American imperialism, the bastion of imperialism and reaction. On this great historic day we take the firm pledge: We will untiringly follow these teachings with all devotion and carry forward the liberation struggles and revolutionary movements throughout the world speedily to successful and cherished culmination by strengthening the hands of the anti-imperialist struggles.

THE intensification of the anti-imperialist liberation struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the post Second World War period is an event of utmost importance which has unleashed a new and powerful tide in the current of world revolutionary movement. On this day of historic significance we take the pledge once more: Under the leadership of the SUCI and following the path **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, has shown us, we will extend our unstinted moral and all-out support to these anti-imperialist liberation struggles in different countries.

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Proletarian Era

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STOP THIS FRATRICIDAL STRIFE —AN APPEAL TO THE TOILING PEOPLE

A fratricidal war between the toiling people of different castes and communities is raging in Bihar triggered off by the Janata Government directly aided, abetted and fanned up by the parliamentary opportunist parties ranging from Congress (I) and the Congress to so-called left parties like CPI and CPI(M) over the question of the governments' recent announcement of enhancement of job reservation by 26% for the listed backward communities in the government posts over and above the existing quotas of 14% for the S.C. and 10% for the S.T. thus making the figure of job reservation 50% in the aggregate. All the parliamentary parties some of whose names we have mentioned including a big section of the ruling Janata Party are in the fray to play the double game of both supporting and opposing the government declaration with their covert and overt alignment with either of the contending groups. The U.P. Government has also followed the suit. We cannot but observe with pain that Bihar is ablaze with caste frenzy and the danger is very much there that other parts of the country may be caught by this fire over a most urgent and pressing problem in people's life like giving gainful employment to crores of urban and rural unemployed.

This dangerous drift and turmoil in the body politic is over the issue of getting employment opportunities, that too, of few thousand posts in the government (about 3000 annually in Bihar to be specific while even the figure of registered unemployed crosses 14 lakhs) which can hardly meet the genuine and urgent requirement of employment opportunities for bare survival to lakhs and lakhs of poor and destitute people in Bihar who like those in other parts of the country

are groaning under the agonising miseries, crushed by the worst kind of capitalist exploitation in the midst of stagnation in the capitalist economy all around in this third phase of intense crisis of the world wide capitalist order. This brings immediately to one's mind of a similar holocaust over the same issue of job reservation in the government services, just a few years back in Telengana, the only difference being that on that occasion the reservation was demanded on the basis of region instead of being on caste

consideration as at present.

Such tragedies of self destructing contentions and rivalries over the crumbs of few thousand government posts, whether on caste, communal or regional considerations, have been happening again and again and taking the dangerous form of bitter animosity between the oppressed and exploited people in different parts of the country at the peril of their unity in the common struggle having oneness of the class aspiration, aim and objective against the capitalist rule of exploitation which is at the root of this single biggest socio-economic problem. For, the system is too old. It is stinking at the root and is wholly incapable of meeting the very primary needs of the people and remains today as the road-block to the development and progress of the society. It has got to be removed and replaced by a genuine socialist system entirely free from capitalist relation and motive force of production. Historically, this is the urgent and principal political task as the solution lies there but the vision of the toiling and exploited people is blurred by the intrigues and the heinous designs of the

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On the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the SUCI MASS MEETING

SAHEED MINAR MAIDAN, CALCUTTA ON 24th APRIL, 5 P. M.

Main Speaker :

COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

President :

COMRADE SUKOMAL DASGUPTA

WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

(Contd. from issue dated 1.4.78)

A revolutionary neither develops any grievance at the lack of comfort, nor does comfort, if he gets it develops any lust in him

None of these, is the correct revolutionary attitude. What is the correct revolutionary approach to all such questions? He leaves the whole question of his future—good or bad—voluntarily and happily to the party and the people in the interest of revolution. He accepts quite gladly and without any grievance the standard of life the party can afford. He does not bother about all these. If the party cannot even provide for two square meals a day then he shall have to arrange for it himself or otherwise he would go without food and this he would do happily, without developing any grievance in him—this is the real test for a communist revolutionary. Then again, if the party can afford a good dress, a car when required, he should not develop any attachment to all these—he should never fall victim to the cult of comfort; he can at any moment give up everything, without any reservation if necessity arises. That means, as he will not have any grievance, any resentment if there is no comfort, so also he will not develop in him any attachment to all these even when available. Such is the real revolutionary attitude, a correct ethical approach to questions like this.

I can still recollect those early days, when we started building up the party there were very few people to support us, we could not even arrange a room for shelter and days after days in our fierce battle to build up a new party in the midst of severe obstacle and a completely adverse situation we had to strive hard without food, but we had no grievance about this. Years together we shared a mat, and so many winters we passed. Our old friends will bear it out even today. They will tell you that never they could trace any lack of composure in us. How many days we went without food, but felt ashamed to tell it. That we could not arrange provisions, we could not collect the bare minimum—were all in our consideration our own failings. What was there to be proud of? How could it be a height of sacrifice? Even to spell it out was a matter of shame to us. This was the kind of feeling, we nurtured at that time. We did not have any sense of pride, nor did we harbour that we were making a great sacrifice for the country. But what haunted us was the shame for our inability and failure. As for myself, I can tell you, leaving aside the question of health, age etc.—the comrades find me even today quite energetic and always in jovial mood and lively as before. But has not a lot of change taken place today? In comparison to those early days, the party has grown considerably and enjoys today a very good support of the masses with much better resources—numbers of comrades rush if anything happens, to look after even a single discomfort. If they find me in torn shirt numbers of comrades and dozens of supporters come forward and offer a new one. They press for it and if refused they feel injured and their sentiment hurt. What does all this prove? Generally, people look after the leaders of their own. Why should then the leaders have a longing, a desire for comfort? If the people do not feel for a leader it will mean that he is a leader imposed from above like a parasite. If the leaders really serve the common man, they too on their own will look after the leaders. But what happens if a leader is not conscious of it? Unless one can completely free himself, even if he goes on getting, from all sorts of attachment to comfort, he may one day fall victim to it. That poses the real problem. As because he could once live in utter discomfort without any grumble it does not *ipso facto* mean that he will be able to maintain that quality throughout his life. A revolutionary, therefore, has to conduct a constant struggle within himself, subject himself to continuous tests and critical self examination to judge for himself his position as a revolutionary. Then why should a revolutionary have any grievance about discomfort, for not getting anything at his will and why should he feel concerned for his belongings? He is not to bother whether he gets something or not—even if he does not he will carry forward,



If somebody presents him with a dress he will use it—but there even he should not resort to hypocrisy. But if he does not put on the suit, his only set thus presented, and looks for an ordinary dress instead lest people think otherwise—is not such a practice a piece of hypocrisy and prompted by an attempt to pose oneself “how simple he is?” This is hypocrisy, pure and simple. It means to act according to public psychology and not educate the public. How should we behave while moving among the masses? We must not run ahead of the people and at the same time we must not lag behind the people. That is, we should remain with the people no doubt, but we should do so in order to educate them and eradicate the very many confusions and misconceptions created by the bourgeoisie in mass mind by our behaviour and conduct. The peculiar knots and influence of vile bourgeois culture pervading the mass mind and patterning their thought-process which have already permeated in the taste and outlook of the people like fine nets cannot be eradicated only with so-called revolutionary slogans. So to eradicate these the people should be drawn and engaged in revolutionary movement, political and economic struggles no doubt, but it can be accomplished completely only when culturally, in every minute detail, we shall be able to remove the influence of bourgeois culture from among them by our own examples. It is then and then only the influence of bourgeois culture, attraction to saints and fakirs, and emotion for the ideology of sacrifice will start receding and people will be able to see through the true class character of all these; they will be able to realise as to who is truly dedicated, who is that ideal, which is the correct ideology, the correct base political line and wherein lies their emancipation. The day they will be able to realise this, the more they will grasp all these, the more the influence of bourgeois culture and bourgeois politics will be receding and the influence of stunt-fan revolutionaries will be waning more and more. So, as we will have to bring revolutionary politics but along with it we will also have to carry proletarian culture to the people with a revolting attitude against bourgeois culture. But the so-called communist leaders of our country are not only not making people conscious of this, but on the contrary, they, by their very behaviour and conduct, their hypocrisies are objectively helping the influence of bourgeois ideology, its grip and tentacles on the culture, ethics and method of judgment of the people to survive. And if the influence of bourgeois culture continues to exist among the people then despite militant struggles on economic issues it will act as a serious hindrance to the development of revolutionary outlook, spreading of revolutionary ideology and building up revolutionary organisation of the people.

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Learn Revolutionary theory only from those who are trying to conduct personal life in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism

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Whenever questions are raised about the various aspects of the public conduct and personal behaviour of a leader the only answer these so-called communist leaders usually provide: Oh! that is his personal affair and we need not bother about it. Even the rank and file members of these parties consider these to be their personal affairs. Which means, they have a personal aspect in life quite distinct from the political. As if it does not matter if they allow their concepts of life, liking and disliking, sense of responsibility or sense of duty and their ethical understanding to be guided by bourgeois culture and bourgeois sense of values but still they can become a proletarian revolutionary or a Marxist-Leninist only if in political field they can learn to deliver hot lectures and quote at random from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and can organise some so-called militant movements on economic demands only. How simple has become the question of unflinching dedication and complex struggle to be a communist at their hands! As a result, see, how simple have become the enrollment of membership in these parties. To them it does not matter whether the cadres are actively engaged in or directly linked with the revolutionary struggles of the people or whether they conduct uncompromising struggle according to communist ideology covering all aspects of life in order to mould the outlook, concepts and mode of life in all spheres of activities. What matters most is whether they accept the party's theory of "People's Democratic Revolution" or "National Democratic Revolution", whether they are active during the election and can cast falls votes to the satisfaction of their leaders. Hence, if they cannot show the party card in their pockets—from their behaviour, cultural standard, personal conduct and livelihood nobody would be able to tell whether they are at all communists.

Learn Revolutionary theory only from those who are trying to conduct personal life in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism

I would therefore suggest to the revolutionary cadres and workers of our country, those who really aspire to learn Marxism-Leninism that learn you must this revolutionary theory only from them who are trying to conduct their life, are still conducting and have become successful in this very struggle in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Don't learn Marxism-Leninism from those who are still victims to vile bourgeois culture in the conduct, taste, habits and behaviour of their personal life because what they teach in the name of Marxism-Leninism are bound to be erroneous. Political verbiages apart, the leaders and cadres practising in their personal life whatever they like, providing interpretations to cultural and epistemological questions individually and as per their sweet will—this may go well in a petty-bourgeois party but surely it should not or cannot be the norm of a Marxist party. A party which indulges in such practices and behaves in this fashion in the name of Marxism is in reality a petty-bourgeois party in the name of Marxism. The struggle they conduct in the name of revolution is not revolution at all, what they preach in the name of revolution is simply revolutionary verbiages, full of empty revolutionary slogans lacking the vitality of revolutionary theories and hence the revolution itself. So learning Marxism from such people is in reality learning something else in the name of Marxism. As a result, what was practised in the country in the name of Marxism was not revolutionary Marxism—in fact, there had been hardly any real cult of the essence of the theoretical aspects of Marxism and its culture and revolutionary politics was never practised on the basis of its ideology; the fact remains that the conduct and behaviour of these so-called communist leaders were mainly responsible for the nobility of such a great ideology of communism being maligned in the eye of the people. That is why I request you once again—if you must learn Marxism-Leninism, if you must acquire the revolutionary theory—learn it from those leaders and from that party, the lives of the leaders and cadres of which are revolutionary. Those who talk of revolution but lead the life of a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, who take classes on revolution but whose conduct, and behaviour, taste and habits and nature of social relations are typically influenced by the vile bourgeois and petty-bourgeois culture, whose personal life has no consistency

with or not guided by the Marxist philosophical outlook and in fact those who are not willing to conduct that painstaking struggle covering all aspects of life—I would request you all, don't run at least to those slogan-mongering revolutionaries to learn Marxism or the theory of revolution. The more you can keep yourself away from such leaders, the more you can make yourself immune from such empty revolutionary verbiages, the better it is for the genuine revolutionary struggle and better for you as well.

Correct revolutionary struggle can be conducted only through the integration of political, economic, social and cultural movements

You should keep it in mind that the struggle to become a communist is an arduous one. Revolutionary politics is itself an all embracing struggle which grows only by integrating political, economic, social and cultural movements. It is possible to conduct proletarian revolutionary movement correctly only when we can achieve this integration. Without this emergence of the political power of the workers and peasants and formation of people's own revolutionary organisations, the instruments of struggles, cannot be made possible despite thousand and one militant struggles. Not the leaders alone, the sole object of dedication for the cadres of proletarian revolutionary movement will be to unleash a struggle covering all aspects of life just to build up this process of revolution. It is an all out struggle covering all aspects of life, starting from private to politico-economic and socio-cultural life, from even sex to love—such noble is this struggle to become a communist, covering all aspects of life. We cannot forget for a moment that the sense of morality and ethics, sense of duty and responsibility or in a word the sense of values which still today guides all of us in the present society is nothing but bourgeois moral values it is only through conducting a correct, conscious and relentless struggle to acquire communist moral values in place of bourgeois moral values, to replace bourgeois outlook by proletarian class outlook which we call Dialectical Materialist or Marxist outlook that we can develop ourselves as communist. This struggle should be a constant and living struggle inside the party and even outside we should simultaneously build up such ideological and cultural movements as prelude to cultural revolution which will help develop a mental make up conducive to revolution of our country. It should be borne in mind always that this struggle to become a communist can never be successfully conducted individually remaining outside the party—collective struggle inside the party is its only guarantee.

Let us now examine—can we become communists the very moment we accept Marxism as the philosophy of our life? Lenin said—No; thereby we simply express our desire to be a communist. I have already referred to you earlier that one cannot become a communist unless he voluntarily and consciously submits himself to the relentless struggle to become a communist which is going on inside the party. But curiously enough, the leaders of these so-called communist parties have tried to build up the party avoiding this all-essential struggle to become communists. **As a result, in place of giving birth to collective leadership, one of the essential qualities of a real communist party, they have reduced the leadership into a formal democratic one and the party, instead of being democratically centralised has been reduced into a loose platform of action on the basis of a commonly accepted political programme constituted of political groups centred round individuals.**

There are some who harbour the notion that the party has come to such a pass since the leaders are all of petty-bourgeois origin. By this they mean that a genuine communist leadership could have been built up only if the leaders come from workers' families. Had it been correct then Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung—none of these leaders could become communists. Because, all of them came from petty-bourgeois families. Similarly, it is the Labour Party of England that could have been the genuine communist party there. Because, all the leaders of this party came from workers' families and at the initial stage of formation of this party they used to declare themselves as Marxists. But, what is our experience about this party? The Labour Party

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ON the eve of the victory of the world revolution reformism, revisionism and Soviet revisionism, in particular, have appeared today as the main danger confronting the world communist movement and have brought a great disaster to the liberation struggles of the peoples all over the world. The SUCI and our beloved leader and teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** have taught us to conduct an unceasing ideological struggle against revisionism and give defeat thereby to all forms of revisionism and re-establish the unity and solidarity of the world socialist camp. We pledge today: We will fulfil these tasks with all our strength.

IN this period of the third intense general crisis of the world capitalist market, fascism is manifesting itself as a general feature in all the capitalist-imperialist countries, whether developed or underdeveloped, in the form of naked dictatorship, or by retaining the facade of parliamentary democracy even, through attempts of counter-revolutionary uprising and by confusing the people with its cloak of democratic socialism and radical slogans on the one hand and adopting some social democratic programmes and measures on the other. The rise of fascism poses a far greater danger and disaster than any form of naked or military dictatorship. Our great leader and teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** gave us a most comprehensive scientific evaluation of fascism. On this great day we take the pledge: Following his teachings we will carry forward an all-out struggle against fascism, the most heinous and despicable enemy of humanism, by forging the broadest unity of all the progressive and democratic forces.

THOUGH India attained political independence through transfer of power in 1947, the workers, peasants and other sections of the exploited people did not achieve emancipation from tyranny, oppression and exploitation through this independence. The emancipation of the exploited masses from all sorts of exploitation and oppression can never be won by changing Governments through elections. It can be won by overthrowing the present capitalist State-machine through anti-capitalist socialist revolution. So, on this great historic occasion we firmly pledge: Under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party, the SUCI, and following resolutely the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, we will win people's emancipation from tyranny, oppression and exploitation.

OUR country is confronted with three main problems: those of (1) modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture, (2) uninterrupted industrial development, and (3) solution of unemployment problem. The solution to these three main problems is inseparably linked with the abolition of capitalism and establishment of socialism in India. Today, in our country, capitalism dominates not only in the political sphere, but also in the economic sphere, including agriculture, and it has reached the stage of monopoly capital, finance capital and imperialism, and blocked the road to social development and progress, causing an acute crisis in the life of workers, peasants and all exploited people by totally destroying all the democratic values and rights. So, on this historic occasion of the anniversary of our Party foundation, our pledge is to strengthen the struggle for emancipation of the workers, peasants and other sections of the exploited people on the basis of the correct base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution following the teachings of the SUCI and **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. We vow not to yield to any oppression, intimidation and temptation and we affirm

we shall not rest content till socialism is established in our country by overthrowing capitalism.

ALL forms of reformism, revisionism, and more particularly revisionism under the cloak of pseudo-Leftism and ultra-Left adventurism are working as social democratic compromising forces in our country, disrupting and hindering thereby the anti-capitalist revolutionary movement and thus causing incalculable harm to the revolutionary struggle. Inspired by the teachings of the SUCI and our great leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, we take the pledge on this great day: We will give defeat to the various trends of social democracy and will achieve the socialist revolution by carrying out a ceaseless and intense struggle in the democratic movement and by forging the struggling unity of the workers, peasants and other sections of the exploited people.

THAT the capitalist class begets fascism in this third phase of acute general crisis of capitalism by retaining even a facade of democracy in two-party parliamentary system—**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, pointed it out to us and he had alerted us long back that ruling capitalist class of our country was after instituting the two-party parliamentary system here. Following its long effort, the ruling class has succeeded by initiating the two-party system in our country by ending the 30 year rule of the Congress and installing the Janata Party at the Centre at the last parliamentary polls. Not only that, it is now busy conspiring to perpetuate the illusion of the parliamentary politics among the people with a view to containing all the mass-movements within its confines by taking recourse to instituting the two-party system. On this great occasion we take vow to alert the people against the impending danger of the two-party parliamentary system and to conduct a ceaseless struggle against it.

WHEREAS the Janata Party at the Centre and in several States, installed at the last polls as one among the most dependable parties of the capitalist class, has been protecting the aggregate interest of the monopoly capitalism, the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal has been cleverly looking after the interest of the monopoly capitalist class while continuing to give a lip service to Leftism all the time. On the one hand they are adopting policies subservient to the capitalist class and on the other, sending police just like the bourgeois parties, on the plea of 'law-and-order' to repress movements anywhere—let alone lending support to the legitimate movements of the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling masses. On this day of historic significance we take the pledge: We will develop and strengthen the struggle for people's emancipation by making the people conscious of the non-Left policies of the present 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal and developing an organised struggle against those policies and we will hold aloft the great banner of Marxism at all costs by protecting the movement against onslaughts from all kinds of reformism, revisionism and social democratic forces.

CAPITALISM'S most cruel and severe blow has come down to the morals, ethics and culture of man. The degeneration in culture in our country has now assumed alarming proportions. Vulgar individualism and extreme self-centredness have been spreading their tentacles on the people and social indifference is gaining ground. On this great day we take the pledge: We will develop and intensify at all costs ideological, social and cultural movements against the vile culture and cultural degeneration basing on the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and will carry forward

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Delhi Meeting of the PUCLDR

A meeting of the National Co-ordination Committee of the Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights was held at Delhi on 30.3.78. It is strange that though many of the constituents of the union attended the meeting, the CPI(M) who talk much about democracy, democratic rights, civil liberties and their restoration etc. was conspicuous by its absence. **Comrade Krishna Chakravarty** on behalf of the Socialist Unity Centre of India placed the following note in this meeting:

It is noted with great concern that 42nd Amendment to the Constitution has not yet been repealed; a large number of political prisoners are still rotting behind the bars; in Madhya Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir black acts almost similar to MISA have been introduced afresh; neither the Central Government nor any State Government has introduced the policy of non-interference of Police in the legitimate democratic movements of the masses; the principle of strict administrative neutrality is nowhere followed either at the Centre or in the States and although not officially but virtually news media are still under strict control.

These are all vital questions concerning civil liberties and democratic rights of the people and hence are the most serious issues before the Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights". The Union was formed with the very object of not only to restore but also to preserve and extend the civil liberties and democratic rights of the people. Naturally, our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India strongly feels that it is high time that the union seriously takes up all the vital issues concerning the civil liberties and democratic rights of the people and build up movement step by step, throughout the country.

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Carry Com. Shibdas Ghosh's Teachings to all sections of the toiling people —Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Call

[As declared in the previous issue we are publishing in brief the speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered at the delegate session of KKMf Conference West Bengal—Ed. P. Era]

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: Our party SUCI and all the mass organisations under its leadership are engaged in the struggle to reach at the destination of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution of our country following the path shown and laid down by our beloved departed leader, teacher and guide, one of the eminent Marxist thinkers and philosophers of this era **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

You are holding this conference in a situation when there is deep crisis everywhere you look—and those who would want to change this situation, change this society—not to speak of the cadres of the revolutionary party—the working class and the broader section of the toiling people who will be the close ally of the working class in this revolution—all of them cannot avoid the conscious struggle to change themselves.

And for that matter the thoughts, teachings and the guidance of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great leader of the proletariat who has developed, enriched and elevated Marxism-Leninism to a new height in the post Lenin period are invaluable guides.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee emphasised that His teachings that cover all aspects of life, science and epistemology is not the treasure of SUCI alone but of the toiling people of our country as well and this treasure he left behind will act as a guide to all freedom-seekers of the world for many decades to come.

We know, it is capitalism that is the main enemy and all the movements of the people are to be conducted in such a manner so as to make these complementary to the anti-capitalist socia-

list revolution of our country. We have also learnt from the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that resentment and revolution are not one and the same—through resentment and revolt we cannot attain the object of revolution. In near future too there may be movements—but there will be no revolution so long we have not been able to ascertain the correct path, find out the correct base political line and establish the leadership of the genuine working class party over the mass movements.

What is only needed, continued Com. Mukherjee, to be done to fulfil his cherished dream is to take his thoughts, lessons and guidance to the broadest sections of the toiling people through all the units of the party he has himself built as well as all the mass organisations under the leadership of the party. The success of the task of accomplishing our revolution will depend upon how fast we can carry his message to the people.

With everyday passing our party is spreading. Everyday appeals are coming from the remotest corners of the country soliciting help to build new units of the party. People want to know our party, about the beloved leader of our party. What do all these signify? In fact they want to know the real path for their emancipation as they had been befooled and hoodwinked by even those who claim themselves Marxist-Leninists.

We have learnt from **Comrade Ghosh** that the mere fact that I feel for the working people, I feel for the peasants, I feel for the toiling people does not *ipso facto* prove that I have developed proletarian class consciousness in me. How then can it be ascertained

that I have acquired proletarian class consciousness? I can claim to have developed it only when after ascertaining the correct revolutionary party and the correct base political line of the proletariat I have engaged myself in the relentless struggle to change my whole self in conformity with proletarian culture. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has set an unparalleled example of what should be the model communist character in this era—each and every worker, leader must strive to build himself in that model and must come forward to take the responsibility of the organisation in his shoulder more and more. Then and then only we shall be able to reach the cherished goal of **Comrade Ghosh's** unfulfilled task. We must be conscious of this.

We must understand that ours is a capitalist country. Capitalism today is in the midst of its third intense general crisis and as a part of world capitalist order capitalism of our country is also crisis-ridden. We know from the great teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** "Once Fascism came out of the womb of social democracy, now social democracy is the last prop of Fascism". In our country the bourgeoisie today has picked up CPI(M) the social democratic force as its saviour from the crisis it is passing through, and giving it a trial in a limited scale.

Our party analysing each and every policy and decision of the CPI(M) led Left Front Government in the light of Marxism-Leninism and **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's** teachings has laid bare the real class character of

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our struggle to rid society of the influence of the vile bourgeois culture.

THE SUCI and our great leader and teacher, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** have taught us that true realisation and reflection of the allegiance to the working class and revolution comes only through one's allegiance to the revolutionary ideology, revolutionary party and revolutionary leadership and by giving a concrete shape to the revolutionary line and fulfilling the revolutionary ideal while preserving at all costs the unity and discipline of the party. We pledge today: We will constantly follow with all dedication this valuable teaching of our great leader and teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and the SUCI, the instrument of struggle of the working class and other sections of the exploited people in our country.

COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH the guide, leader and teacher of the SUCI, has taught us on the historic lesson that it is fear which stands as man's main enemy. He has taught us that even a starving people can stand up and fight for a cause if their moral backbone remains strong and upright and if they can overcome fear. He has also taught us that the most honourable and dignified life to man is the life of a revolutionary, and it is only by leading the life of a revolutionary that one can attain self-respect, progress and emancipation.

ON this day of great historic significance we take the firm pledge: We will constantly cultivate these most valuable teachings of the SUCI and our great leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and carry forward the task of revolution with all creative efforts and initiatives.

Long live revolution

Long live 24th April

Long live SUCI

Long live Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

(The above pledge, in different languages, will be read out at the numerous meetings and gatherings to be held all over the country on the occasion of the anniversary of our party foundation in the week preceding 24th April)

Delhi Meeting of the PUCLDR

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The movement may start with conventions and submissions of memoranda to the respective Governments, from State to National levels. If still the demands are not conceded, the movements have to be raised to higher phases and in doing so, all forms of democratic movements including All India Bandh with necessary preparations should be adopted.

those policies and decisions—how all those are really aimed at serving the interest of the bourgeoisie despite many fanfare of progressivism.

Lastly he appealed that it is SUCI that is the only ray of hope before the toiling people of our country for their emancipation from exploitation of all sorts. People should join and strengthen it fast. History is ours.

Long Live KKMf!

Long Live SUCI!

Long Live Revolution!

WHY SUCI

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of England is engaged in shameless servitude to British monopoly capital. In our country too, Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar once formed the Labour Party with this wrong notion. But he could not succeed to build up a genuine communist party. Again, let us consider the example of the Bolshevik Party of India, which is almost non-existent today—what was its premise that once attracted a large number of workers to its fold. The leaders of this party very often used to say—"The middle class 'Babus' cannot build up a working class party. There is no genuine communist party here since there had been no attempt to build up the party with the proletariat. Lenin has said that in a proletarian party, sixty percent of the membership of all committees, starting from the central committee down to the lowest one, should come from working class families. Otherwise, there is no guarantee about the future of the party. Therefore, a real working class party will have to be built up by leaders coming from working class families".

Lenin said this as the ideal for providing a solid foundation of the party from class point of view. It is good, if such a condition comes true in a party. But Lenin was a realist. That is why he at the same time formulated, on the question of providing leadership in the working class parties in backward countries, the theory of

declassed intelligentsia. But these leaders chose to attach no importance to this theory of Lenin. In fact, what was the condition of the party built up by Lenin himself—the party that once successfully led the proletarian revolution of Russia? Similarly, what is the condition in CPC? In both of these parties, most of the leaders and cadres were of petty-bourgeois origin. In all such backward countries, most of the party cadres come from rural and urban intelligentsia, lower middle class and petty-bourgeois families because of social condition, state of education etc. This is why the struggle to develop the cadres into de-classed proletarian revolutionaries in order to guarantee the class character of the party is a very important struggle in such countries. The former theory rather holds good in building up the party of the proletariat in industrially advanced countries like USA, Great Britain or France. But this is completely untenable in backward countries. To cling to Lenin's first thesis of forming the party mostly with workers mechanically will virtually mean that middle class 'Babus' who will be there in small numbers in the party will pat up the workers' ego and carry on individual leadership very easily taking advantage of the big gap in intellect between the workers and the 'Babus'. These handful of middle class elements want to restrict the inflow of cadres from the intelligentsia inside the party on the above plea fearing that they may lose their position in the leadership.

[TO BE CONCLUDED]

People have been misled by the filthy politics of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parliamentary opportunist Parties

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ruling capitalist class with the help and assistance of most unscrupulous parliamentary parties.

This tragedy of unprecedented dimension could not have taken place at the peril of unity of the oppressed people in their common struggle for freedom from poverty, destitution, hunger, cultural-moral degeneration and subhuman existence which are the curses of moribund capitalist order, had not the principal bourgeois parties like the Janata, Congress (I), Congress and in tune with them even the parties contending for their position as the third alternative in the bourgeois politics like the CPI(M) and CPI were busy in collecting the spoils of sordid parliamentary politics by hiding the class reality in our society and inciting, instead, the caste, communal and regional ill-feelings of the oppressed people over a most pressing socio-economic problem like unemployment. As an inevitable outcome of this rank opportunism and filthy politics of the parties, sanity and rational thinking have been the first casualty and the poor and oppressed people have again been caught in the snare of a most insensible madness much to the glee and relief of the ruling capitalist class which is the villain of the piece. The unscrupulous parliamentary

parties are nothing but instruments at their hands to drive wedge in the unity and solidarity of the working class so that peoples' wrath and indignation against the unbearable capitalist exploitation cannot take the shape of genuine class struggle and united movements of the oppressed and the exploited against their enemy—the capitalist class. The frenzy and madness on communal and caste lines generated among the toiling people is the handiwork of these parties. Words fail to condemn their treachery to the real cause of the working class and the crime they commit on humanity. The sooner the people and the country can get rid of these parties and their felony, the better for their future.

May we, therefore, ask the people of Bihar and why Bihar alone, the toiling people all over the country to give at least a patient and dispassionate consideration to a few pertinent points which we place before them, here. This they will have to do in order to come out of the trap laid by the capitalist exploiters and their henchmen so that they may direct as also orient their struggle on to a right course the principal aim and objective of which cannot be other than to guard and further consolidate the unity and

cohesion of the exploited people of every caste, community, religion and elevate it to a bulwark of unity of the working class throughout the length and breadth of this country against the united assault of the ruling capitalist class whose prime motive is to destroy this very unity of the exploited.

Let it be acknowledged at the outset as a historic reality, as pointed out by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great teacher of the proletariat, that whereas in Europe, with the growth and development of capitalism and in the process of formation of nation states, the democratic outlook and principles applied in political, economic, social, cultural and ethical fields swept a way to a great extent the fences and barriers dividing the people in caste, community, religion etc. to bring about democratisation of the society and through it, social-cultural integration of the people although this process has never been complete and thoroughgoing in any bourgeois society; in our country much leeway remains in this historic process because of the inherent weakness in our national freedom struggle. Our national freedom movement was in the period when historically capitalism was in its moribund stage and therefore the national bourgeois

leadership of our country betrayed a reformist-oppositional role against imperialism. "Antagonism with imperialism on the one hand and mortal fear of revolutionary struggle by the people against imperialism on the other" was the cause of this role of the national bourgeoisie. As a result: "In the course of the political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the leadership of our national liberation movement to accomplish, in the main, the tasks of social and cultural revolutions against feudalism, feudal disunity and religious bondage and democratisation of the society, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language, race etc".

(Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's speech to the National Democratic Convention 29th-30th November 1964)

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the old feudal Indian society witnessed a deep-seated caste complex and people belonging to low castes were under the constant subjugation of those belonging to the high castes both socially and culturally

which no doubt created a deep sense of suppressed and injured feeling among the low caste. Given favourable situation this suppressed caste feeling used to very often find its expression through mutual intolerance, suspicion and even animosity of worst kind. It is true that with the passage of time and more particularly with the advent of capitalism and establishment of a bourgeois state in our country bringing in its wake complete abolition of feudal economy and replacement of the same by the capitalist economy, caste domination in the old form can no longer exist. But the virus of casteism is still there in our society as the hangover of the past and **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has rightly pointed out that feudalism does no longer exist in our country in the politico-economic structure but it exists only in the superstructure as the remnant of the old society. People must come to realise that what may sometimes appear as caste domination cannot be other than class domination in this period of acute and intense class struggle under monopoly capital. The society today is primarily and fundamentally divided not on caste but on class basis. It is the exploitation of the capitalist class against which people belonging to all castes, religion, or region must unite in order to

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Capitalism in its moribund stage disrupts the unity of the people inciting parochial feelings for its own security

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overthrow this exploitative capitalist set up. Among the capitalists there are persons both of low and high caste who equally exploit the down-trodden. It is a tragedy that Indian society could not free itself from the evils of casteism, communalism, regionalism and all sorts of parochialism due to the inherent weakness of the leadership of our freedom movement. It is also true that in the post independence period the big left parties masquerading as communists neglected not only the all important task of social and cultural revolution, which ought to have been incorporated in our democratic movement, but what is more, they themselves fanned up all sorts of parochial feelings just like the branded parties of the bourgeoisie, only to reap cheap fruits in parliamentary politics. As a result, the virus of casteism etc. which could not very much raise its ugly head at the time of freedom struggle due to the impact of the movement itself, finds a fertile soil today in our country calculatedly cultivated by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties to the serious detriment of united mass movement. The ruling capitalist class and its henchmen are very much active to create cleavage among the people to perpetuate capitalist exploitation in our country. It was therefore **Comrade Ghosh's** historic warning to the working class movement in our country to incorporate within the programme of democratic movement, the unfinished tasks of the social and cultural revolutions. Why did he give this warning was made amply clear by his historic analysis that: '**Capitalism which for the sake of national integration and formation of the nation at a certain stage of its development tried to unify different communities of the people in a given territory, also**

tries at a different stage of its development i.e. in the imperialist stage to disrupt the unity of the people for its own security against popular uprising. The more acute its crisis becomes, resulting in more intense struggles by the working people against capitalist order, the more fascist capitalism becomes when it tries to fan religious and racial sentiment of the people to misdirect popular struggle against capitalism'. (Ibid) How far the working class movement has acted upon this historic caution? The incidence of the tragic happenings of racial and caste riots is a sad commentary on its performance.

The genesis of the present trouble can be traced back to the political manoeuvres and trickeries of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties now in the governments either in the states or at the centre. Indira Gandhi who was bidding her time to stage a come-back in the bourgeois parliamentary politics seized the opportunity of incidents of atrocities committed on the Harijans from Belchi to Bishrampur in Bihar and UP which are under the Janata Party rule and tries to pose herself as the champion of the cause of the Harijans. The fact of the matter is that the atrocities were mostly on the poor agricultural labourers and destitute peasants by the jotedars or rural bourgeoisie which are daily happening in all parts of the country. However much the bourgeoisie and their henchmen are trying to cover them up by bringing communal and caste colourings, the fact is that the poor people belonging to any caste, community or religion whether they are industrial workers, agricultural labourers or destitute and lower-middle class peasants, are being subjected to social injustice or indignities apart from

the grinding exploitation of the productive system by the capitalists to which ever caste, community, religion or region they may belong. The real identity of the people in our society today, therefore, is their position in the capitalist production relation—whether they are the owners of means of production and the fruits of social labour or are merely the wage-slaves creating the wealth but having no share in it.

It may be pointed in passing that this policy of reservation is the continuation of the legacy of colonial rule in our country which then found and still now finds support not only from the bourgeois parties like the Congress but even from parties like CPI and CPI(M) although it is a policy calculated to divide the poor and exploited on caste and communal lines and obstruct the growth and development of their unity and cohesion on a class basis against the exploitation of the ruling capitalist class. Moreover, this politics on caste and communal disaffection and prejudices has been primarily responsible in obstructing social and cultural integration of the people on class basis and in reality helped the rich and owning class within so-called backward caste, tribe or community to grow and develop as the pillars of strength of the capitalist order. Indira Gandhi and her lieutenants in Karnataka and Andhra, Devraj Urs and Dr. Chenna Reddy, have capitalised these divisive elements in country's politics for petty political ends. While Urs has been instrumental in dividing the Karnataka politics on caste line by bringing 50% reservation for the so-called backward communities, Dr. Reddy was the figure behind the Telengana holocaust. The so-called success of Indira Congress in the last Assembly-elections in both the states can be directly related to this background. But it

speaks more about the heinous conspiracy of the bourgeoisie. It is backing up all these bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties who are dividing the unity and distracting the attention of the toiling people by raising slogans like reservation of rights and privileges on caste, communal or racial grounds. All this drives wedge in the unity and cohesion of the working people and does incalculable harm to the possibility of building up countrywide united movement against the oppressive rules of capital and for this gets all the support and encouragement from the bourgeoisie. Not only the Congress (I) but the Congress, Janata Party, CPI, CPI(M) and their associates—all these parties who have ambition in bourgeois parliamentary politics are engaged in this sordid game and thereby serving the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie.

The foul atmosphere in Bihar today is not, therefore, something accidental but is the product of a premeditated and calculated political manoeuvre of the Janata Government.

It is not a matter of distant past and faded memory that the students and youths in particular and the toiling people of Bihar in general rose in revolt against the Congress rule on the legitimate and most pressing demands like food, employment, driving out corruption etc. braving all the brutalities and repressions of coercive instruments of the state machine. Capitalising peoples' fight and sufferings the Janata Party came to government power.

The Janata Party rule within a very short time was fast bringing disillusionment to the people and they were smarting under a sense of being betrayed by this party. People were preparing for democratic movements on the same very urgent and pressing issues against the Janata

Government. The Janata Government has chosen this very moment to kindle the fire of casteism not only to save its skin from internal strifes and squabbles but mainly to save itself from the organised protest of the people. By this dirty tricks, besides bringing dismay and disunity in the ranks of the oppressed people and gaining time against inner party strifes and squabbles it also appears as a strong contender against Indira Gandhi in caste politics. Further, as the Janata Government in continuation of the pro-monopoly policy of the Indira Government has miserably failed to tackle any single burning issue to people's benefit, it has tried this means to divert people's attention and divide their ranks. It is a criminal conspiracy against the people backed up by all the parliamentary parties and groups in the state legislature. The so-called left parties like the CPI and CPI(M) from whom people expected something different had failed them by toeing the same perverse politics. Not only this, CPI(M) even opposed the suggestion of J. P. to bring 'economic criteria' in the basis for reservation by holding that "It is therefore ridiculous in their case to talk of the 'economic criteria' being applied for reservation". This party tries to rationalise its rank opportunist and caste chauvinist stand by giving the most preposterous argument that this reservation "is not meant...to solve the problem of poverty or unemployment...but as a measure of helping the socially, educationally and otherwise backward communities to catch up with the forward communities in securing the necessary share of government appointments."

(Peoples' Democracy-editorial comment, 26.3.78)

What can be more 'ridiculous' than to trace

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The Oppressed and Exploited Should Stand As a Class Against Capitalist Exploitation

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any rudiment of Marxism in all this. In fact even a thorough-bred caste fanatic will not only be at one with this line of thinking rather he may get a so-called theoretical backing from this.

So, what is demanded of the situation is a sober and dispassionate analysis of the crux of the problem and a rational solution to this by the people. They are first of all to judge, whether or not the basic issue is the problem of acute unemployment which is mounting high everyday. The pace of increase in the employment opportunities falls far short of the pace in which people are losing land as a means of livelihood and becoming absolutely dependent on employment or service. Moreover, because of the unprecedented crisis in the capitalist system and chronic recessionary condition in the economy, retrenchment of work-forces is taking place on a large scale through spate of lock-out, lay off, closure etc. adding to and aggravating the problem of unemployment. To tackle the problem effectively, that is to say, to create employment opportunities faster than the growth of current work-forces so as to cover the backlog of unemployed, what is necessary is to complete the two-fold tasks in the socio-economic field e.g. uninterrupted industrial development and thorough mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture which is obstructed by the capitalist productive system governed by maximisation of profit.

This does not mean, of course, that nothing can be done before this very capitalist exploitative system is overthrown by the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. For, no civilised government can disown its primary responsibility of giving right to live and for that gainful employments to the unemployed. Admittedly,

there is limited job opportunity within this system which is far inadequate compared to the actual requirement.

But what should be the principle in distributing this limited number of jobs in government departments? Those who stand for job reservation for backward castes and communities argue that only by this can the interest of the people belonging to these castes and communities be protected and the social inequality removed. But a sober and realistic appraisal will at once show the hollowness of this line. At a time when the people of these castes and communities were not organised and the democratic movement of the toiling people irrespective of caste or community distinctions was almost absent, a constitutional guarantee had some relevance. But if experience has any meaning it has also taught a bitter lesson that like all other constitutional guarantees on people's rights and liberties this particular guarantee was also just formal. The poor people of these castes and communities have seen that in the name of reservation for the caste or community it is only the rich and resourceful having link with the ruling bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties monopolised all the benefits whereas in absence of financial standing and educational, social and cultural backing very little benefit has trickled down to them. So, the condition of the poor and exploited people to whichever caste or community they may belong has changed from bad to worse and social inequality instead of being removed has increased. That is why in every democratic society or for that matter for every democratic movement the good is not to perpetrate the caste or communal divisions of the people but to bring them together in the social mainstream by creating the objective

socio-economic-cultural conditions where the poor and exploited people of every caste, community, race or religion can have free access to social-educational-cultural freedom and earn their position in the society on merit and not on grace of the ruling class and the vested interest. The aim is clearly to ensure social justice and fairplay by creating concrete social conditions and not to allow the bourgeoisie and vested interest to disturb the unity and cohesion of the poor and exploited, whenever they so like by playing on caste or communal sentiments behind the show of sham sympathy for the backward caste or community. The bourgeoisie wants to keep alive the division but the proletariat strives to unite the poor and the oppressed on the basis of class consciousness. The sensible criteria for distribution of jobs should, therefore, be on the basis that jobs to all and priorities to the maximum needy. The families having no earning member or having very low income should have the priority over others. This alone can bring senses in the whole affair and sanity in public life.

Secondly, the people of Bihar and UP in particular and people in general throughout the country should remember to their benefit that caste and communal politics is nothing new in our country but it has brought dividends not to the poor and exploited people nor to the country as a whole in terms of economic, social and political advancement. Rather it has gone all to the benefit of the rich and exploiting people no matter to which caste, community, religion or region they may belong. This time also, it is the poor and exploited of all the castes, religions and communities who will have to pay the heaviest price—the price of their unity and solidarity against the common oppressor—the capitalists, who, as in the

past, will fish in the troubled waters. The parliamentary parties who are after spoils in parliamentary politics and thrive on this thoroughly rotten and vile politics, no matter the price the common people and the country pay at their cost, are again trying to bedevil the situation. This is the political reality that calls for, all the more, political consciousness and alertness of the common people.

Thirdly, even from a very practical consideration, they should also know that this drop of government posts in the ocean of unemployed can hardly provide any real relief to the society as a whole.

For somewhat relief in

an unbearably situation like at present, the toiling and exploited people of all caste, community, religion etc. will have to organise mighty democratic movements, wave after wave and in that process hasten the end of this rotten capitalist rule of exploitation.

It is for this historic task, unity and solidarity between the toiling and exploited people of every caste, community, religion or region must be kept as the apple of eye against the vile conspiracies and intrigues of the capitalist class and its servitors. Let them not forget that caste strife will help perpetuate exploitation but it is class struggle that alone leads them to the path of emancipation.

PROTEST STATEMENT AGAINST THE DISCRIMINATORY POLICY OF LEFT FRONT GOVERNMENT

Strongly protesting against the discriminatory policy in allotting symbols to the registered political parties in the ensuing Panchayat election Com. Sukomal Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of our Party SUCI has issued the following statement to the press:

"In the ensuing Panchayat election each voter will have to cast votes in three separate ballot papers meant for Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samity and Zilla Parishad at a time. This is for the first time that the recognised political parties are going to enjoy the right and advantage to use, in all the three tiers, the respective party symbols used in general elections. But it is quite surprising that the parties which are not recognised either in the national or state level but have been accepted by the Election Commission as registered political parties are going to be deprived of such right. Not only they are not getting the chance to contest in all the three tiers with the same symbol, they are in fact, going to be compelled to contest in the same tier with different symbols from different constituencies. Naturally, it is not at all difficult to understand that the voters; more particularly the rural voters, will find it practi-

cally impossible to cast votes even if they so desire in favour of candidates set up by the registered political parties by correctly memorising the respective symbols of these candidates which will be different not only for different tiers but also for different constituencies. This clearly goes against the fundamental principle of free and fair election.

Moreover, the present Government has, by this decision, not only reduced the position of the candidates of the registered political parties to that of the independents, it has, in fact, flagrantly violated the policy of the Election Commission that demarcated the candidates of the registered political parties from the independent candidates so long.

Under the circumstances, we demand of the 'Left Front' Government that following democratic norms and principles it would immediately change this rule and allow the registered political parties to contest in all the three tiers of Panchayat election with a single symbol.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE